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A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C

Hamburg, 21 August 1977
Sixteenth Year - No. 801 - By air

US study sparks new European defence debate

DIE WELT

First came the bombshell US strategic study recommending that a third of this country be abandoned in the event of a Soviet attack, then President Carter's prompt reassurance, which quickly allowed the dust to settle.

"US policy," Mr Carter stated, "is to maintain forward defence all over Europe. It is a tried and trusted policy drawn up jointly with our Nato allies. It remains entirely unchanged."

No attempt has been made, on the other hand, to deny that the confidential report as leaked albeit in oversimplified summary, was actually compiled as Presidential Review memorandum 10.

But PRM 10 is, after all, merely a review and not official policy. Yet experience has nonetheless shown that past changes in US policy and strategy have usually been heralded by studies of this kind, compiled both by official advisers and unofficial analysts.

Ever since the days of President Kennedy Bonn in particular has been somewhat mistrustful of reviews. Jimmy Carter may not be John F. Kennedy, but he too, initially perhaps more so than at present, was motivated by an imponderable urge to make fundamental changes.

Few of Mr Carter's closest advisers are career civil servants. With few exceptions (including, however, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski) they were unknown quantities as far as Europe was concerned, not to say political amateurs briefing a still inexperienced President.

Against this background, and not to mention the bombshell nature of the subject matter, the effect in Bonn and at Nato headquarters was a foregone conclusion.

The outline carried by the *Washington Post* and the *International Herald Tribune* and written by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak made the following assertions:

- In the event of a Soviet attack a third of this country, including Hamburg and Munich, will be abandoned to the aggressor because the forward defence potential is insufficient to hold the territory in question.

- The retreat to a defence line further back from the border is rendered necessary because the funds needed for forward defence of this country by conventional means are not forthcoming in the United States.

- Mr Brzezinski accordingly advises a stalemate strategy of falling back on the Weser-Lech line, leaving the Soviet Union to draw the political consequences of its act of aggression.

- These, he is said to have stated, include world opinion, condemnation by

the United Nations and mobilisation by the United States. Fear of these consequences represents a powerful deterrent.

In order to contain the devastating political effect of the leak Mr Brzezinski immediately rang Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to let him know that the President was about to issue a disclaimer.

He also summarised further explanations he had given Vice-President Mondale, General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Turner of the CIA and US disarmament delegate Paul Warnke when the review had come up for discussion.

The options Mr Brzezinski had outlined included resort to nuclear weapons, the mobilisation of between 100 and 150 divisions in order to throw the adversary back with the aid of conventional forces, a ground forces stalemate coupled with nuclear retaliation and, finally, an attack on targets in the Soviet Union itself.

Mr Carter's immediate clarification leaves no one in the slightest doubt as to Presidential policy. He emphasised the continuity of US commitments in Europe at the London summit in May, describing Nato as the crux of US foreign policy and calling for military reinforcement of the pact.

The estimates on which Mr Brzezinski bases his judgement on Western military presence in Central Europe are nonetheless questionable, as is his assumption that up to 150 divisions could be mobilised to bring about conventional stalemate.

This constitutes an alarming discrepancy between his assessment of the situation from behind closed doors and the political reiteration of forward defence commitments by the President.

The public review will certainly no longer be restricted to the credibility or otherwise of the deterrent. After the lightning attack scare early this year and the latest insight into the views of security adviser Brzezinski we must pay more attention than hitherto to the preconditions of forward defence were the deterrent to prove insufficient.

Forward defence is the political yeast of Nato. Were it to be abandoned Nato itself would face the threat of rapid disintegration, so it is only too easy to see why President Carter was so quick to reassure his Nato allies.

What is more, this is only part of the

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Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher with Mr Roelof Frederik Botha in Frankfurt (Photo: dpa)

Genscher meets Botha for talks on southern Africa

DIE WELT

The situation in southern Africa was the key topic discussed by Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his South African colleague Roelof Frederik Botha when they met last weekend for talks at the Airport Hotel in Frankfurt.

Mr Botha had interrupted his return trip from London where he had had talks with the British Foreign Secretary Mr David Owen and US State Secretary Cyrus Vance, to meet Herr Genscher.

Bonn's Foreign Minister used this opportunity to spell out clearly to Mr Botha this country's stand on the situation in Rhodesia, Namibia (south-west Africa) and South Africa.

Observers said later that the two-hour meeting had been marked by a great deal of frankness, in other words, both Ministers pulled no punches in expressing the views of their respective countries.

And according to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, this frank exchange of ideas with South Africa is essential.

As far as south-west Africa was concerned, Herr Genscher told Mr Botha, Pretoria should set in train a fast and frictionless transfer of power in the territory to the black majority.

Mr Botha, in turn, assured Herr Genscher that his government was equally interested in achieving a speedy and reasonable settlement. One difficulty would be the withdrawal of South African troops.

Herr Genscher also called on South Africa to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

(Die Welt, 15 August 1977)

The call for reinforcement of conventional forces is giving rise to difficulties everywhere.

The United States is in the process of stepping up its troop strength in Europe, stationing a brigade near Bremen which will be the first full-scale US unit in the north of this country.

But the President is unlikely to gain Congressional approval of higher expenditure unless Europe itself spends more on defence, which is an unlikely prospect.

This country cannot fill everyone else's gaps; its defence contribution is second to none in Europe as it is. Spectacular decisions, moreover, can only be taken at the risk of prejudicing the Vienna troop cut talks.

So a fundamental weakness of the West remains irremediable for the time being. On the one hand President Carter is opposed to an early resort to tactical nuclear weapons in the event of hostilities (a viewpoint that is surely in this country's interest too); on the other he lacks the conventional forces that would be needed both to forestall the need to fall back on the nuclear option and, indeed, to maintain the doctrine of forward defence.

Mr Brzezinski's review may have given rise to doubts in Europe as to his political acumen, but despite President Carter's prompt and credible disclaimer it will continue to have an effect.

The West's defence debate, which has been neglected for ages, has been given a shot in the arm.

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, 12 August 1977)

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African States look to Bonn to grasp the initiative in commodity talks

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146 minor mishaps at nuclear power plants in 12 years, Bonn report notes

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Philosopher Ernst Bloch dies at 92

ENERGY

145 minor mishaps at nuclear power plants in 12 years, Bonn report notes

Many people wonder — as well they might — just how safe nuclear power stations in this country are. Thirteen of them with a combined installed capacity of 6,400 megawatts are already in operation.

Government energy plans provide for the inauguration of a further fifteen 1,200-megawatt power reactors by 1985, and even though this target is unlikely to be achieved, safety precautions assume increasing importance.

Whatever the pace of development, atomic energy is sure to play a larger part in our lives than in the past, and the risk of a nuclear mishap increases proportionately.

Large nuclear power stations use up to forty tons of enriched uranium as fuel. What is more, during fission all manner of radioactive matter is produced that would contaminate the atmosphere if the reactor were to spring a leak.

Reactor construction and design incorporate every conceivable precaution in order to ensure that nothing unforeseen can possibly happen and to ensure, in particular, that radioactive particles are not released into the atmosphere.

But no one can give a copper-bottomed guarantee that a mishap will never happen. Minor mishaps have, indeed, occurred at regular intervals in existing installations over the years.

The Bonn government's recently-published 450-page "atoms for peace" report notes no fewer than 145 incidents at nuclear power stations in this country between 1965 and last April.

They included damage to fuel elements and the cooling system, to reactor controls and measuring equipment, and accidents that have occurred during construction and maintenance.

There has yet to be an incident so serious that it can no longer be brought under control, not even the fatal accident at Gundremmingen nuclear power station on 19 November 1975.

What happened at Gundremmingen was that a mechanic who was replacing a valve forgot that the pipe was still under pressure and was killed by hot steam, which just happened to be slightly radioactive.

So the solitary fatality in the catalogue of nuclear mishaps at power stations in this country was not, strictly speaking, due to contamination and a radioactive leak.

Closer scrutiny of the catalogue indicates that project engineers and technologists have grown increasingly conversant with their subject over the years.

Continued from page 7

German firms say that "modern machines alone are not all that counts in business."

They consider that they would have excellent selling chances in the Japanese home market.

Eberhard von Kuenheim, head of BMW, recently paid the Japanese a back-handed compliment with which many German companies will agree: "The Japanese are past masters in the art of preventing car imports by all sorts of hidden obstacles."

Michael Spiesshofer

(Frankfurter Merkur, 9 August 1977)



Incidents occur far less frequently than they used to do.

There have, for instance, been nearly 100 mishaps at experimental and pilot projects such as the nuclear power stations at Kahl and Karlsruhe, Gundremmingen, Obrigheim and Ling.

Larger and more advanced installations have — in comparison — seldom been shut down for repairs.

What is more, hairline cracks developed in the welding seams of early fuel elements. Occasional minute leaks of fissile material resulted. The report lists nineteen such instances between 1965 and 1976.

These faults were not, as a rule, located until fuel elements were scheduled for replacement, but replacement solved the problem.

Defective fuel rods have yet to be observed at nuclear power stations built at a later date, so this particular lesson has evidently been learnt.

Improvements have been made in the materials used to manufacture fuel rod sheaths. What is more, welding techniques have also been improved, so that hairline rifts no longer occur as a rule.

Last but not least, welding seams are checked with particular care before the rods are taken into service.

At all events fuel elements now seem better able to withstand the relatively high pressure that accumulates within during operation. They are similarly impervious to high temperatures and neutron bombardment.

Another kind of mishap may also be rated a teething trouble or infantile disorder, although again, strictly speaking, it has nothing to do with nuclear technology.

Turbine damage, particularly at Gundremmingen on the Danube, has frequently laid nuclear power stations low. On at least three occasions a turbine blade has snapped and damaged other blades at Gundremmingen.

Repairs have proved far from easy and often necessitated shutting down the entire power station for weeks.

This damage occurred because the operating companies had opted for a wet steam turbine, a design that was popular in the twenties, but subsequently abandoned on account of technical hitches that were mainly associated with water processing.

Now that nuclear technology called for larger turbines operators reverted to the old technique even though a different turbine design has since grown customary at coal-fired power stations.

During a routine check at Würgassen nuclear power station on 10 February 1974 the turbine shaft was found to be so badly damaged that the power station was shut down for roughly a year for repairs.

This was a failure that should never have occurred in the first place, but, again, it belongs to the category of possibilities that never can be entirely precluded.

Further examination of the listed

mishaps reveals that in the final analysis minor faults can occur almost anywhere in a nuclear power station.

At the multi-purpose experimental reactor in Karlsruhe the pumps once went on strike. At Obrigheim oscillation occurred in the heat shield, but suitable support was incorporated in the structure just before the reactor went critical.

At Ling a number of control rods stuck on 4 May 1970. At Gundremmingen the wrong valve was opened at the end of August 1969, with the result that twenty tons of water escaped from the fuel rod basin into the overflow room.

The Gundremmingen mishaps was the result of human error. Fortunately it did not result in leakage of radioactivity.

Now and then, however, small quantities of radioactive particles have been released. In July 1973 a higher than permissible level of radioactive tritium was released into the atmosphere from the pebblebed reactor at Jülich.

A tritium adsorber was installed to ensure that safety levels were maintained.

At Obrigheim radioactive xenon was once pumped out with the effluent. This too was the result of a mistake, and precautions are now taken to ensure that it will never happen again.

Thus an analysis of mishaps at nuclear power stations in this country demonstrates that minor technical hitches can happen no matter how careful all concerned may be. But repercussions can be kept to within the reactor shell.

Precautions have certainly been taken to ensure that the reactor is automatically switched off as soon as the slightest irregularity is registered. So, as far as can humanly be foreseen, serious repercussions cannot occur.

Major mishaps that assume catastrophic proportions would appear, on the strength of operational experience so far, to be as improbable as a direct hit by a fully-laden jumbo jet on a full house at the Olympic stadium in Munich.

But human fallibility is a factor that must always be borne in mind. It has resulted not only in the sole fatality so far, but also in a number of other mishaps.

Forecasts of energy needs vary widely

Forecasts of future energy requirements have proved extremely unreliable in recent years, according to a survey conducted by Applied Systems Analysis (ASA), a project sponsored by a consortium of major research centres all over the country.

Sixteen forecasts of future demand for electric power have been analysed. They have all been published since 1971, but the conclusions reached differ to such an extent that politicians may be excused for feeling none the wiser.

For the turn of the century estimates of the demand for primary energy range from 600 million to 900 million tons of coal equivalent.

Estimates of demand for the individual fuels or energy sources vary even more widely, leading ASA in its annual report to the conclusion that lobby

Nuclear power station engineers and technicians have yet to prevent them or ensure that the consequences are kept to a minimum, but in many cases safeguards definitely can be incorporated.

In July 1969, for instance, private individuals (they were not even power station staff) inadvertently contaminated their own homes after a visit to Gundremmingen. Care has since been taken to ensure that this surveillance lapse cannot occur again.

A number of mishaps have also occurred during construction or operational trials. At Neckarwestheim, for instance, insulation material was set alight in a blaze caused by sparks flying during welding. At Biblis cracks were found to have occurred in structural steel.

These, of course, are mishaps of the kind that can happen on any construction site, but when nuclear power stations are under construction special care is essential.

The repercussions of some small blaze or crack in some component or other may subsequently prejudice safety precautions for the nuclear power station as a whole.

So greater attention is now paid to incidents that occur in the course of construction, and in a number of cases design improvements and alterations to power stations under construction have been undertaken as a result.

Despite all precautions, then, mishaps can occur at nuclear power stations for a variety of reasons. Regrettable though this may be, it is most unlikely that a full-scale emergency would ever need to be declared.

The 450-page report testifies to experience over the past dozen or so years at thirteen nuclear power stations, some of which have been generating electric power for years without giving serious cause for alarm.

Even upsets that might conceivably lead to more extensive damage have been seen to present no trouble to a combination of effective safety precautions and experienced power station staff.

So far, for instance, neither power station staff nor members of the general public have come to harm as a result of an overdose of radiation.

So precautions have proved their worth, but we must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. Nuclear power stations must continue to be built and run with the utmost care.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 August 1977)



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EDUCATION

Career advisers in a quandary over graduates' job chances in law and medicine

More than 20,000 university graduates are already registered as unemployed, and spokesmen for the medical and legal professions point out that this figure falls well short of the actual total.

Many professional men feel they cannot risk the stigma attached to the dole, while others have given up the struggle to earn a living and taken up alternative employment.

So the true figure for unemployed graduates is probably far higher. Erich Frister, general secretary of GEW, the educational and scientific trades union, reckons at least 20,000 teachers are on the verge of redundancy.

Yet university expansion programmes are still going ahead to cater at inordinate expense for what may well be a non-existent demand.

How many graduates is society going to need in the years to come? There are few subjects on which views differ so wildly. Doctors and lawyers claim there is a serious glut in their professions, yet labour exchanges still reckon there is going to be a shortage of both.

A bright teenager who has recently passed his *Abitur*, or higher school certificate, at Bonn's Konrad-Adenauer-Gymnasium asked the careers adviser at his local labour exchange what, on the face of it, ought to be a straightforward question.

"I should like to study for a law degree, but what with all the talk about a glut of lawyers I feel I ought to ask you what the true position is. Would you advise me against reading law at university?"

This simple query put careers adviser Dr Wagner on the spot. "As a matter of principle we never recommend anyone to steer clear of a particular trade or profession at all cost. Maybe they have the makings of really successful lawyer, in which case they will make the grade whatever the situation is."

But facts, figures and forecasts are available to suit all tastes. According to one estimate there will be a shortage of between 7,000 and 14,000 law graduates in 1980.

State Ministers of Justice, on the other hand, are on record as estimating that the annual output of university law faculties is twice as high as the number actually required.

Bernd Oellers, business manager of the Lawyers Association in Bonn, is even more emphatic. "It is irresponsible to talk in terms of a forthcoming glut of lawyers," he says. "There already is a glut."

Views and estimates vary in equal measure in respect of other professions that have traditionally been the preserve of university graduates.

"Whenever we sound a warning note the response is invariably: 'They are just out to feather their nests and keep competition at bay,'" says Klaus Gehb of the Medical Council in Cologne, who is responsible for estimating future manpower demand in the medical profession.

"We have simply given up pointing out that there will soon be a mounting surplus of trained doctors," he adds. On being shown a copy of the latest statistics used by careers advisers and published last May, Gehb just shakes his head and shrugs his shoulders.

According to these figures the annual demand for graduates in medicine and pharmacy amounts to between 10,000 and 12,000. In order to reach this figure an annual university intake of between 15,400 and 18,500 is deemed necessary.

In other words, university places for a further 4,000 students of medicine and pharmacy are still needed, and there will be a shortage of between 40,000 and 60,000 doctors and pharmacists until well into the nineties.

So it would seem only fair to assume that good money can still be earned in the medical profession.

Klaus Gehb has an entirely different tale to tell. "The universities are already producing twice as many doctors as we need. It would make sound sense to halve the annual intake to, say, 5,800, but we would be howled down for even venturing to suggest the idea."

Already 1,315 doctors are registered as unemployed, and no one feels able even to hazard a guess as to the number of doctors who have not signed on the dole, preferring instead to enlist temporarily as sales representatives for pharmaceutical manufacturers.

"Our forecasts may even err on the optimistic side," Gehb claims. "They could be in need of revision in the wake of measures to cut costs in the health service. A large number of hospitals are already pruning staff."

Klaus Gehb takes a dim view of the

argument that a surplus of medical graduates ought to aid the survival of the fittest and best-qualified and so improve the quality of medical services.

"With medical school intake at its present level," he notes, "there will not be enough jobs going as hospital housemen, with the result that by the mid-eighties graduates will have no option, but to embark on general practice immediately on going down from university."

"I leave it to you to decide whether or not general practitioners' qualifications are going to improve as a result."

In a number of professions even the statistics on which careers advisers at employment exchanges base their advice indicate that supply will exceed demand.

From 1985 on there will be a surplus of engineers and architects. By 1980 there will be 10,000 to 16,000 chemists, physicists and mathematicians too many. As for the teaching profession, by 1980 there will be at least 60,000 qualified graduates too many — and maybe as many as 110,000.

Mind you, this surplus could soon be reduced if classes were made smaller, which only goes to show that forecasts are uncertain at the best of times. Demand is dependent on so many factors, both political and economic.

If the politicians were to resolve to make classes smaller as a matter of priority, they could provide jobs for each

and every unemployed teacher at one fell swoop — always assuming cash is available to pay the teachers' salaries.

At present 2,028 members of the teaching profession are registered as unemployed, but Erich Frister, general secretary of GEW, the educational and scientific trades union, reckons the true figure is nearer 6,000, with at least a further 20,000 on the brink of redundancy.

The demand for law graduates, the majority of whom have traditionally entered the civil service, is similarly a moot point.

The Federal Labour Office in Nürnberg bases its calculations on the assumption that in 1980 there will be a shortage of between 7,000 and 14,000 law graduates. "Supply will not rise level with demand until the late eighties."

This view is not shared by the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office in Düsseldorf, which has issued a press release based on a survey of employment prospects for economists, lawyers and sociologists from 1961 till 1990.

"Demand for law graduates will have doubled by 1990, with a shortage continuing until the early eighties." Yet the Justice Ministers of the states anticipate a surplus of between 13,000 and 21,000 law graduates between 1980 and 1985.

Between 1970 and 1976 the annual student intake at law faculties has increased from 6,566 to 12,000. Local authorities are now only hiring graduates with first-class degrees.

The remainder have no option but to try their luck as solicitors. Between 1964 and the end of last year the number of registered solicitors increased from 19,791 to 31,167, including an increase of 2,460 in 1976 alone.

Horst Zimmermann
(Münchner Merkur, 4 August 1977)

Call to give greater emphasis to the arts in schools

air, water and woodland, but also our children and our very future."

Hajek feels it is deplorable that parents do not object to current educational objectives. Indeed, they seem all in favour of them.

"Children with the best grades will later earn most money. That," he says, "is what many parents seem to think. How else is one to account for the fact that they go to parent-teacher meetings calling for greater emphasis on the science side and less on the arts?"

Hajek does not attribute this state of affairs solely to competition for university places. "The generation that is now in command went to school in the thirties; when creativity was not in demand."

"They represent an entire generation that lacks any grounding in the arts. They were the generation that did not object to art education being ideologised in the sixties and stripped of creativity."

Hajek hits out hard at art teaching at school. "Many teachers regard art lessons as a matter of mere sociology and social criticism. They are failing utterly at their jobs."

"Handicrafts are no longer practised. Pupils are required to do verbal work only. Art teachers would sooner exchange views with sociologists than with artists."

"There are even qualified art teachers who have attained their qualifications without ever going near either a paintbrush or a lump of clay."

As a result, Hajek claims, artists and

art teachers are often at daggers drawn rather than engaged in profitable cooperation. Art teachers in Baden-Württemberg, for instance, tried to sabotage a pilot project sponsored by the Bonn Education Ministry with a view to confronting pupils with practising artists.

"The teachers objected on constitutional grounds, arguing that pupils had a right to be taught by people who had at least their qualifications," Hajek scornfully explains.

"But not every artist can lay claim to university entrance qualifications, let alone a degree."

Politicians would not object to experiments along these lines, Hajek says, and he should know, having discussed the proposal with Education Ministers and local government officials.

"But Ministerial bureaucracy is too powerful and inflexible. A Minister may favour an idea, but his civil servants are sure to raise objections. It is the civil servants who exercise real power nowadays, not the politicians."

Yet Hajek and his associates have achieved a number of successes. Art now ranks equal in importance with other subjects on the curriculum at primary schools in Baden-Württemberg.

Consideration is even being given to assigning actors, managers, musicians, painters and sculptors in lessons. Hajek does not doubt for a moment that artists would be happy to lend a hand, but there are limits.

"It is not the responsibility of the Arts Association," he says, "to draw up practicable teaching schedules. We can only lend a hand and make suggestions on the basis of our own experience, sounding a warning note when anything goes wrong."

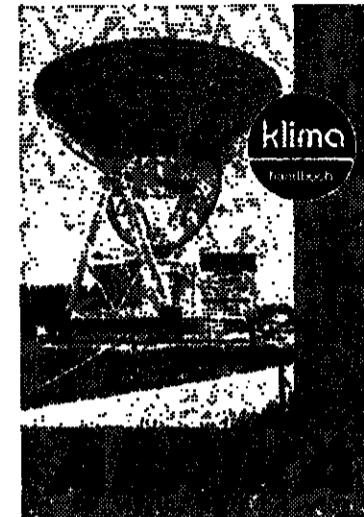
Renate Farber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 August 1977)

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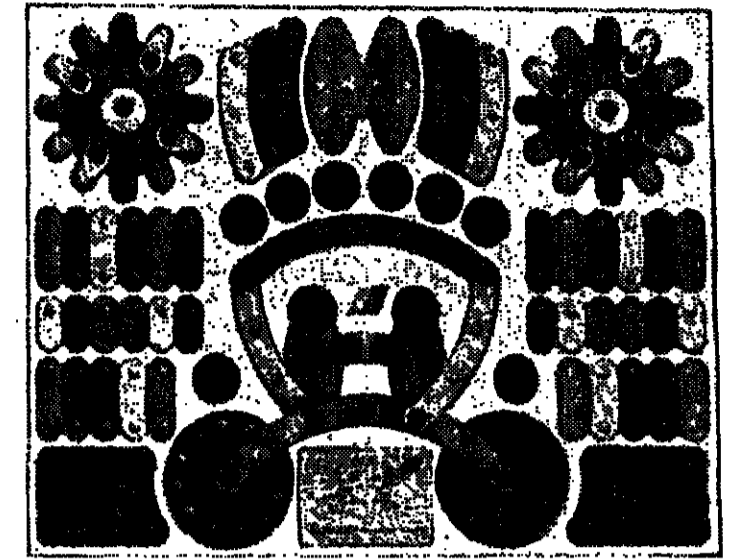
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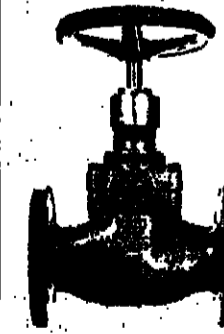
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